123 437 [chief's] arrow." This "mercantilism" even operated in the area of "spiritual" (or "non-material") culture, for just as they had bartered dances and songs with the Karajá, they also demanded songs from me in exchange for theirs, and I had to teach them a song from my childhood, in which the fox is accused of having [533] stolen the goose ("Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen") to learn from them a children's ballad dealing with a mouse.

When the Tapirapé bartered among themselves, I observed considerable haggling. [Ed., end of Vol. 113.]

Chapter 9

[114:185] The Diet

● 262 824 The last chapter referred to the importance of plants in the Tapirapé diet. First and foremost, there is manioc. Aside from fish, it is the only food mentioned in these Indians' description of [772] the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven lying above our visible one. The inhabitants of Tampiitáua call the roots of that Euphorbiacea by the generic name mandiaga. Ayrosa (4, 112) questions the Tupi origin of the word mandioca [manioc].

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have both "wild manioc" [171] (Manihot utilissima Pohl) and "sweet manioc" (Manihot dulcis Pax.). They distinguish five varieties of the Manihot genus, while the number of varieties known to the ancient Tupi was even greater (cf. Soares de Sousa 187; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXVIII; Métraux 2, 65).

171 252 Like those Indians, the Tapirapé have two basic ways of preparing the manioc roots for consumption: (1) by placing them for a few days in water until they become soft, turning them into what they call mandiyvungna and what is called puba [manioc mash] by the neo-Brazilians; (2) by grating them without putting them through the water treatment [114:186] (cf. Staden q 2; Soares de Sousa 189 and 191; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXIX; Claude d'Abbeville 304-305). Some of the varieties are prepared in either way, and others are prepared only in one way. The roots softened [251] in water are dried in the sun and pounded in the mortar, and the mashed substance is used in the manufacture of beiju [flat cakes] and cauí [a soup].

171 and cauí [a soup]. The fresh, grated manioc, after being dried
252 in the sun, put through the sifter, and roasted in a clay pot, yields the flour that goes into the making of certain dishes and that accompanies others by being tossed straight into the mouth with the hand. The Tupinambá had these three ways of consuming manioc, that is to say, the cake, the more or less fermented liquid varying in consistency between a porridge and a soup, and the flour which is added to other foods either in the pot or in the mouth (cf. Soares de Sousa 189 and 196; Simão de Vasconcellos, pp. LXXXV, CXXIX, and CXXX; and others).

Like the Tapirapé and many other tribes, those ancient inhabitants of the coast grated or pounded the manioc roots, dried them in the sun, ran the particles through a sifter, and roasted them in pots over the fire. The only notable difference in the procedures used in making the tubers edible was in the manner of wringing the grated mass of "wild manioc" to extract its poisonous juice. While Hans Staden (q 2) found the tipiti among the Tupinambá of the capitania [Tr., province] of São Vicente, and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (189) found it among the Tupinambá of Bahia, this press of braided palm leaves shaped like a tube or bag (cf. Baldus and Willems 219-220) was not mentioned by the French authors who visited Indians of the same name in other parts of Brazil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (cf. Métraux 2, 104). Claude d'Abbeville (304) says specifically of the Tupinambá of Maranhão that "they take all the gratings from these roots and squeeze them with their hands..." [translated from French]. The
[174] use of the same procedure and the absence of tipiti among the Tapirapé are, therefore, corroborative of the assumption that these Indians came from Maranhão. [Ed., the remainder of p. 186, p. 187, and the first paragraph of p. 188 are omitted.]

262 [114:188] One variety of "sweet manioc" cultivated by the
824 Tapirapé, called vuaykyra, reaches more than 30 centimeters in circumference and more than half a meter in length. I ate it frequently and with pleasure, boiled or roasted in the embers.

[252] Other tubers that I tried among the Tapirapé, roasted in the same manner, were from the following plants: (1) a variety of sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas Lam., chetyka in Tapirapé), orange-colored inside and almost like pumpkin in taste; (2) purple cará (Dioscorea spec., urukú-ampaí in Tapirapé), purple inside, shaped

262 824 [177] like a turnip, the size of a child's fist, and slightly more pungent in taste than the white carás with which we are familiar; (3) this same white carás, which was imported from the Whites as is shown by its Tapirapé name of mayrangkanakuera (mayra, "White man"; kanás, "carás"; kuera, "that was"), often 70 centimeters in circumference, half a meter in length, and tasteless; (4) a third Dioscoreacea, found wild in the forest and called kanachinga or "white carás" in Tapirapé because the tubers are white inside, which is shaped like a carrot, 20 centimeters around, 30 centimeters long, and as tasteless as mairangkanakuera; (5) a yam that reaches 60 centimeters in circumference and 35 in length (Alocasia spec., iampokumaé in Tapirapé), tastier than the various carás; (7) a smaller yam called uvanchaira in Tapirapé. It is a known fact that the sweet potato and the carás plants are autochthonous to America, while the yams are imported (cf. Hoehne 2, 187). The Tapirapé assert that they cultivated iampokumaé in remote times and remember having received uvanchaira from the Whites.

171 824 192 Hans Staden (v. 3) liked the sweet potato of the Tupinambá and wrote its name as jettiki. The Tupi term was entered in the vernacular as jetica (Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa [Small Brazilian Dictionary of the Portuguese Language], 5th edition, 1944). Stradelli (500), in his Nheêngatu vocabulary, [114:189] listed iutyca as the word for "potato." Incidentally, the Tapirapé plant chetyka only in small quantities. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

262 Aside from the tubers mentioned above, bananas are the vegetable food of greatest importance to the Tapirapé. Like manioc, they are gathered by these Indians almost throughout the entire year. At the time of my visit in July, 1947, however, there were considerably fewer bananas and other foodstuffs in the village than in the months of June to August, 1935. In Chapter 2, it has already been mentioned that the generic term chatá or tatá, with which the inhabitants of Tampiitáua designate the bananas they cultivate, resembles the Karajá word for this fruit. In Tampiitáua I ate the following varieties of this Musacea.

[192] [171]

262 824 (1) A banana 30 centimeters long and from 15 to 20 centimeters in circumference, the largest one cultivated by the Tapirapé and for this reason called tatahó, that is, the generic term plus the augmentative. The neo-Brazilians of the Araguaia call it

262 824 "long banana." It is probably a variety of the banana da terra (Musa paradisiaca L., normalis subspec.). During my first stay with the Tapirapé, they ate it every day in large quantities. I, too, never tired of devouring the huge and extremely tasty fruits, with the result that my body acquired the same proportions as those of a horse that feeds on grass alone for months at a stretch.

252 The [114:190] Tapirapé gather these bananas when green and hang them inside the house until they become yellow and ripe. Then they expose them to the sun until they are black outside and turning brownish inside. To achieve this, they place them on wooden frameworks that are erected at the place where the bananas grew, or at some other place regarded as adequate. The Karajá, [171] who also cultivate these large bananas, bury them too, and so did the Péua (Takunhapeba) of the lower Xingu visited by Von den Steinen (1, 275). The Tapirapé like to eat these fruits when they are not only rotting, but also warm from the immediate action of the sun or from the sand warmed by its rays. They do not peel 264 them, but open the hard skin a little at one of the tips, put the tip between their lips, and slowly empty the skin by squeezing it with their fingers so that the soft and brownish pulp gradually penetrates into their mouths. In this respect I did not agree with the taste of the Indians, for I found these bananas a revolting thing when rotten and preferred to eat them while still yellow on the outside and pinkish-yellow on the inside, when they were already quite juicy.

262 824 (2) The white flesh of one of the larger bananas was not dry either, and its sweet flavor was reminiscent of candy permeated with the scent used by a cheap barber, while its skin was pinkish-green. The Tapirapé name for this fruit is tatampiringó. Its length is equal to its circumference, that is to say, about 15 centimeters. My camarada called it "purple banana," asserting that among "civilized people" it reaches twice that circumference. It is probably Musa paradisiaca L., sapientum subspec., rubra var.

(3) The banana 15 centimeters long and ten centimeters in circumference, whose white and soft flesh had a mild flavor and whose green skin did not turn yellow, was probably the "São Tomé" [252] banana. The Tapirapé hang it inside the house and call it inanchanynî.

(4) The banana called abãbakîngamaé by the Tapirapé is yellow both inside and out and similar in shape and flavor to the tatah´ banana, although a little smaller and drier.

262 824 (5) Another banana with highly "scented" flesh is also yellow both inside and out as indicated by its name, tatanchova. It is 15 centimeters long and 12 in circumference.

(6) Tatakyra is the name given in Tampiitáua to a green, medium-sized banana that tastes like a very dry potato when roasted in the embers.

[114:191] (7) The inhabitants of this village also cultivate the banana ouro (regia variety of the sapientum subspec.) which in their gardens reaches up to ten centimeters in length and eight in circumference. [Ed., the subsequent paragraph is omitted down to the last sentence.]

[171] The scarcity of bananas noted by Krause [2, 241-242] among the Karajá reveals, in any case, a characteristic difference between these Indians and the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of p. 191, pp. 192-193, and the first paragraph on p. 194 are omitted.]

114 171 824 [114:194] Although the same author [Nordenskiöld] (5, 29 and 76) assumes that in view of the similarity of the terms mentioned earlier the Tapirapé became familiar with the banana through the Karajá, we may note that on the extensive list of names used by South American Indians to designate the banana, which was published by Nordenskiöld along with a distribution map (ibid., 78-85 and Map IV), there is no term resembling chatá or tatá.

262 824 It is worth noting that the paankuá of the Tapirapé also plays a certain role in their diet. In Tampiitáua, this "wild banana" supplies not only leaves for the thatching of houses, but also seeds that the children eat roasted after removing the skin of the pip. The rather bland flavor is vaguely reminiscent of milk and wheat flour.

Among other wild plants used as food by the Tapirapé, the following should be mentioned.

The tree they call ampí, whose red fruits, shaped like cherries, ripen in October and taste like a sweet cherry.

The mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa Gomes, mangaua in Tapirapé), already described by Gabriel Soares de Sousa (210-211), whose yellow-green fruits, resembling small apples in shape and size, ripen in October. They are eaten raw, and without their skins they taste like a roasted apple. According to Hoehne (2, 227),

262 824 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit" in the Paressi Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinaua by the Tapirapé and macaba by my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled [252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:195] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-açu (Astrocaryun spec., chavana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yvãpá.

243 252 262 824 These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L., avandxĩ in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge or cauĩ. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abati in Staden (e 2), auati in Léry (120), ubatim in Soares de Sousa (199), auatî in Stradelli (384), and abatĩ in Montoya (2, I, 357 and II, 10). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

244 252 262 824 The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monovĩ in Tapirapé) are pounded and then added to certain mushes, or else roasted, pounded, and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn into cauĩ. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195, p. 196, and the first paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

262 824 [462] [241] [114:197] In the previous chapter, we mentioned that the Tapirapé women participate in sowing and harvesting only peanuts, maize, and cotton. The observation by the sixteenth century Portuguese author [Gabriel Soares de Sousa] that peanuts are "very hot when eaten excessively," and harmful in certain cases, seems to agree with the idea expressed by the Tapirapé custom that requires father and mother to abstain from this food during their child's [751] first two years so as not to endanger his life.

137 17 244 The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found by Kuhlmann in 1919 among the Nambikuara [Nambicuara] of

137 Pimenta Bueno in the state of Mato Grosso and described by Hoehne
171 (1, 21-22 and Table 190; 2). Like it, the Tapirapé monoví differs
244 from the "common peanut" (Arachis hypogaea) in its size, which is much larger, for its pod may reach seven centimeters in length and its seeds two or three centimeters. According to Hoehne (1, 22), each specimen of Arachis nambyquarae may yield from 50 to 100 pods. Owing to its oil content and abundance, the peanut is
● 262 of some importance in the Tapirapé diet and also was one of my favorite foods during my stay in Tampiitáua. Krause (2, 241-242, 358-359, and 387) does not mention this plant among the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó. A legend I heard in July, 1947, at the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, however, states that a civilizing hero of that tribe, the evening star, taught them to plant peanuts among other things.

244 Less important than peanuts to the Tapirapé were the large
262 flat beans [Tr., lima beans], slightly larger than those of Europe.
824 Only a few individuals cultivated them, planting them in small quantities. Their Tapirapé name, kumaná, corresponds to comendá in Soares de Sousa (200) and cumandá in Montoya (2, II, 105v) and Stradelli (427). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] The large Tapirapé bean seems to be a variety of [114:198] Phaseolus lunatus L. and thus to belong to the same species as the beans mentioned by Anchieta (Hoehne 2, 107), Thevet (ibid., 132), and Soares de
[252] Sousa (ibid., 211-213). In Tampiitáua, it is boiled in small earthenware pots. Then its green skin is removed. Underneath this skin, the bean is white. I ate it with great pleasure.

Smaller than these beans are the round yellow fruits of a leguminous shrub cultivated by the Tapirapé and called kumaná-yvyraí, "bean-shrub." The neo-Brazilians plant this shrub on Morro da Areia [Tr., a high outcrop hill on the Araguaia River] and other places in the region and give it the name anduzeiro. This name might lead us to assume that the plant belongs to the Cytisus cajanus Lin. species.

262 The Tapirapé use the fruits of certain Cucurbitaceae as recep-
824 tacles after removing the flesh, and they use those of another variety
252 in the same family to prepare a highly prized dish with the juice.
[415] This juice is heated, and as it begins to boil it is mixed in with pounded raw maize; the boiling mixture is stirred for ten minutes until it thickens. Sometimes they add crushed peanuts. In this

252 case, the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The
262 fruit that supplies this juice reaches 35 centimeters in length, 30
824 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. Its Tapirapé name is koruanchoa, choa (or chova) referring to the color yellow. The neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name croá which, according to the Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa, 5th edition, is synonymous with cruá, crauá, and melão-caboclo (Sicana odorifera Naud.) [Tr., the cassabanana]. In Stradelli's Nheêngatú vocabulary (435), curúua is "a kind of squash covered with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

249 Kamairahó's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to
263 Tampiitáua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plan-
114 tation of Saccharum officinarum L., and in 1947 I did not see any.
[177] The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent import. Krause (2, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the
[171] Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw was manioc and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians: "... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the Tapirapé from asking for my rapadura [Tr., raw brown sugar in lumps].

These Indians make beiju (meijú or mãjú in their language),
252 sometimes with the tapioca extracted from manioc mash, as al-
262 ready mentioned, [114:199] and at other times with peanut or maize flour. According to Ayrosa (1, 54), the word "mbeiú or mbeyú of the Tupi-Guarani" is "equivalent to 'coil,' 'roll,' 'fold,' etc." The same author (ibid., 51-54) lists several varieties of this cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé beijú is similar in shape to the so-called beiju-açú, which is a large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday food. During my stays in Tampiitáua, I saw it only once. This was on June 29, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They placed a large pan full of these disks of manioc-mash tapioca, made by Anampí, the wife of Tanupanchoa, in the middle of the takana. This important man offered it to several of the people
171 present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked
252 it. Hans Staden (q 2) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the
262 same fashion with the same material and writes their name as byyw.
192

171 According to Karl von den Steinen (2, 539), the Kamayurá voice
192 a nasalized meiũ, that is to say, almost meniũ (meyu and menyu
252 in his spelling). The same author (ibid., Fig. 54) reproduces a
●262 spade decorated with geometric designs that was used by these Indians to turn the cakes over. In Tampiitáua I did not see any special implement for this purpose, and in Wagley's collection at the [Brazilian] National Museum there is nothing like it either. [Ed., the last two sentences concluding the section in Vol. 114 are omitted.]

[115:255] To the Tapirapé, the most important vegetable
262 dish is unquestionably cauí. [Ed., five sentences are omitted.]
171 In sixteenth century references, the intoxicating drinks of the
192 Tupinambá appear as Kaa.wy and Kawi in the spelling of the German Hans Staden (e 2, f 3), Cahouin in Thevet (1, 121), and Caou-in in De Léry (125). The nasalized i indicated by the two
194 Frenchmen, and later pointed out in various Tupi languages by authors coming from different countries, does not exist either in Tapirapé or in Kamayurá, but in both these languages the u in kauí is nasalized, and the i is the tonic syllable (cf. Von den Steinen 2, 213). Furthermore, neither the [115:256] Tapirapé
[273] nor the Kamayurá make intoxicating beverages. The Tapirapé
272 designate with the word kauí their peanut, maize, manioc, cotton-
192 seed, squash, and banana soups, and even straight drinking water
171 (ỹ-kauí), while the Kamayurá use this term for the simple refreshing drink made of water and crumbled beiju (ibid.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The kauí of the Tapirapé is not always made exclusively from
272 one of the plants mentioned above. There are mixtures, such as crushed maize with chewed peanuts or with chewed cottonseed. No other plant aside from those listed are used, however, and no such soups are made, for example, with cará or yams. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 256 and the first paragraph on p. 257 are omitted.]

[114] [115:257] None of the [early] authors mentions expressly the three kinds of cauí that are made by the Tapirapé with cotton seeds,
[252] peanuts, and squash. As I have already mentioned, the cotton seeds are chewed with crushed maize. The resulting drink has a yellowish-green appearance and little flavor. It is true that the
171 Tupinambá of Bahia also found those seeds nutritious, but they pre-
252 pared them in a different fashion. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (235)

124 pictures is much larger than the original, while the opposite applies to most other animals. It is especially difficult to identify various kinds of fish which vary considerably in actual size.

I shall transcribe from Rodolpho von Ihering's book the
128 colloquial and scholarly names, while sometimes omitting that of the species. Most of the errors which I have probably committed in spite of this precaution will thus, I hope, easily be corrected
[825] by zoologists. It is well to call the attention of those who study the geographic distribution of animals to the fact that the Tapirapé are not familiar with the species represented by R. von Ihering and omitted from the following list, for I showed them all the figures in the book. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

[Tr., the following list is summarized from the original text, and omissions have not been indicated. To avoid confusion, it should be emphasized that the first name listed is the Tapirapé term. Its translation is given in Portuguese when there is no English equivalent or it is uncertain, and in most cases the Brazilian term is of Tupi derivation.]

MAMMALS

136 (1) anyrá -- bats in general. Not eaten.

●262 (2) tatu -- hairy six banded armadillo (Euphractus sexcinctus). Eaten by men. [117:94] The Tapirapé were not familiar with the nine-banded armadillo (Dasypus novemcinctus) in Fig. 15.

(3) tamanua -- great anteater (Myrmecophaga jubata). Eaten.

(4) tamanduá-beva -- small anteater (Tamandua tetradactylus). Eaten by men and youths, not by boys or women.

(5) chingó -- sloth (species of the Bradypodidae family). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word may arouse doubts, for it differs completely from the Tupi term mentioned by numerous authors.

(6) tapidjí -- tapiti (Tr., a small hare-like rodent] (Sylvilagus minensis). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 19.

(7) kuanohó -- rat (a species). They used this name for the wild rat (Axymycterus nasutus) in Fig. 20, as well as the coypu [117:95] (Myocastor coypus) in Fig. 22. Considering the great

differences in size and general appearance between these two rodents, and taking the information by R. von Ihering (25) that the second one "is found only in the southern Brazilian states," I take it that the Tapirapé made a mistake. They said of both that only men eat them. It is also interesting to note the augmentative suffix ho when we read of the coypu: "Its body has the shape of a huge rat, but in size it is almost an agouti with short legs and a rat tail, almost as long as the body, measuring from 45 to 55 centimeters" (ibid.). The same Tapirapé word with the diminutive suffix i, that is, kuanoí, designates the coendou which I shall mention under item 12.

(8) kereroá -- rice rat (Calomys longicaudatus). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering s Fig. 21.

(9) anuchá -- mouse that lives in tree trunks and not on the ground. Not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(10) anochaó -- mouse that builds a straw nest. Not depicted by R. von Ihering. The suffix o is augmentative.

(11) Vuavedeí -- serelepe [Tr., a kind of chipmunk or ground squirrel] (Sciurus spec.). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 23.

(12) kuanoí -- porcupine (Coendu spec.). Eaten by the men.

(13) ampereá -- cavy (Cavia aperea). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering s Fig. 25.

(14) ankuchí, akutí -- agouti (Dasyprocta spec.). Eaten.

[171] (15) kanoanó -- paca (Coelogenys paca). Eaten. It is interesting to note that the Tapirapé are not familiar with the Tupi word paca. Many white hunters regard the meat of this animal as the best in the world.

[117:96] (16) angkampíyvuana -- capybara (Hydrochoerus capybara). Eaten by grown men. According to Karl von den Steinen, (1, 174) the meat of the capybara tastes like "machine oil."

(17) ypiravuira -- white porpoise (Inia geoffroyensis). Not eaten. This fresh-water variety is not depicted by R. von Ihering. Joaquim Branco (XVI, 213) gives pirayaguara as the name of the white Amazon porpoise, adding that this means "dog-fish" (cf. also Stradelli, 132 and 603). The Tapirapé word, however, means "bird-fish."

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(18) auvaná -- agouara (Canis jubatus). Not eaten.

The Tapirapé were not familiar with the wild dog depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 40.

(19) koandji -- coati (Nasua narica). Eaten.

(20) eirana -- tayra (Tayra barbara). Eaten by the men.

(21) mykura. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the zorrilho [Tr., a conepate] depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 45. It is known, however, that mycura or mucura is the name given in the Amazon to marsupials of the Didelphys genus called gambá in the south of the country (cf. Stradelli 568, R. von Ihering 9). The Tapirapé were not familiar with the opossum (Didelphys aurita) represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 1. The Tapirapé do not eat the animal they call mykura.

(22) chauatanangka -- giant river otter (Pteronura brasiliensis). Not eaten.

(23) chauvuanohó -- jaguar (Felis onza). Eaten by the men. This Tapirapé word covers both the spotted and the black jaguars. In Tapirapé, chauvuana means "dog" (Canis familiaris), ho being the augmentative suffix.

[117:97]

(24) chauvuápinima -- spotted jaguar.

(25) chauangpytyngó -- cougar (Felis concolor). Eaten by the men.

(26) manangganchaí -- wild cat (Felis spec.). Eaten by the men.

(27) tampiira -- tapir (Tapirus americanus). Eaten by the men.

(28) chinguá -- catêto or caitetu [Tr., a wild pig] (Dicotyles tayassu). Eaten. The Yekuaná do not eat the tongue, heart, or brains of this animal, which is their favorite game (Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 335-336). Among the Tapirapé, however, I found persons who greatly appreciated the brains (cf. Baldus 7, 95).

(29) tanchahó -- white-lipped peccary (Dicotyles albirostris). Eaten.

(30) opokú -- marsh deer (Dorcelaphus dichotomus). Eaten by men who do not have small children.

(31) ochinga -- savanna deer (Dorcelaphus bezoarcticus). Eaten by the men. I found its meat very dry.

(32) mianá -- brocket (Mazama americana). Eaten.

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[117:98]

(33) anakuahó -- brocket (Mazama simplicicornis). Eaten. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book.

The Tapirapé were not familiar with the hairy saki or fox-tailed monkey (Pithecia monachus) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 66.

(34) antamanĩ -- saki (species?) Eaten by the men.

(35) yaĩ -- ring-necked titi (Callicebus torquatus). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 71).

(36) kaĩ -- capuchin monkey (Cebus spec.) Eaten. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book. I ate its meat often and found it good either boiled or roasted.

(37) kai-ió -- howling monkey (Allouatta spec.). Eaten by the men. (kaĩ: cf. No. 36.)

(38) kokykoky - spider monkey (Ateles spec.) Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 76. [Ed., end of Vol. 117.]

[118:117] BIRDS

(39) vuyrá, uyrá -- bird in general. Many kinds of birds are eaten only by the men. The Tapirapé Kamaira listed 97 bird names for my companion F.C. Kegel.

(40) vuyranchampokáinia -- domestic chicken. Eaten.

(41) chanoó -- rhea (Rhea americana). Eaten by the men.

(42) oró -- capueira partridge (Odontophorus spec.). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 79.

(43) muitú -- curassow (Crax spec.). The Tapirapé distinguish the sexes, calling the male muitunoó because it is larger than the female, which is spotted in contrast to the male and hence called muitupinima. Eaten.

[118:118]

(44) inomõ -- tinamou (Crypturus spec.). Eaten.

(45) changkú -- guan (Penelope spec.). Eaten. The guan is relatively abundant on the Araguaia, easy to hunt, and the favorite dish of the Tapirapé.

(46) tepangkuá -- tinamou (Crypturus noctivagus). Eaten.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the doves depicted by R. von Ihering in Figs. 85 and 86.

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262 (b) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the white-faced tree-duck (Dendrocygna viduata) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 87.

(c) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the horned screamer (Palamedea cornuta) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 88.

(47) uyrahõ -- jabiru (Mycteria mycteria). Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé name means literally "large bird." I found its meat strongly redolent of fish.

(48) mauanĩ -- American stork (Euxenura maguari). Eaten. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw the bird depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 91, which therefore belongs to the Ciconidae and not to the Ardeidae family.

(49) vuaná -- roseate spoonbill (Ajaja ajaja). Eaten.

(50) akakõ -- wood rail (species?) The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw Aramides saracura in R. von Ihering's Fig. 99 and asserted that the men eat this bird of the Rallidae family. [118:119]

(51) karakaraka -- tapicurú [Tr., an ibis]. Eaten by the men. The Tapirapé thought that this bird of the Ibididae family, which is not depicted in R. von Ihering's book, resembles the wood rail in Fig. 99, although it has a longer beak. I liked its meat. My companion, Mr. Kegel, found it very "oily."

(52) anangkura - seriema (Microdactylus cristatus). Eaten by the men. When I recorded this Tapirapé word, its similarity to saracura [Tr., Portuguese for No. 50] led me to think that a confusion had been made between the two wading birds depicted in R. von Ihering's book one beside the other. But the Tapirapé removed my doubts, and in any case I found in Kissenberth's (2, 59) short Tapirapé vocabulary the word arãkorĩ with the German translation Strausfsart, that is, "kind of ostrich," which can only be the seriema since this author (ibid.) gives the same Tapirapé word for "rhea," with a slight difference in spelling, as I listed under No. 41 above.

(53) vuangká -- biguá-tinga [Tr., a darter] (Plotus anhinga). Eaten.

(54) yrevũ pevõ -- common or black vulture (Catharista atratus brasiliensis). Not eaten.

(55) yrevũ chingũ -- king vulture (Gypagus papa). Not eaten.

(56) yrevũ ampaã -- red-headed vulture (Cathartes aura). Not eaten. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book.

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(57) tampiikyvanchinga -- caracara (Milvago chimachima or similar species). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 104.

(58) tamyngó -- carancho [Tr., a hawk] (Polyborus tharus or similar species). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 105.

(59) pypypypyó -- harpy eagle (Thrasaetus harpyia). Eaten by the men.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the burrowing owl depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 107.

(60) urukureá -- striped owl (species?). Eaten by grown men. The name given by the Tapirapé was known to the sixteenth century Tupi of Bahia.

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(61) vuantori(n)iá -- hoatzin (Opisthocomus cristatus). Only old people eat this bird after removing its skin, which is also done by the few neo-Brazilians who do not scorn its flesh, for the hoatzin is also called catingueiro [stinker] by the frontiersmen owing to its penetrating odor. The Tapirapé use the word ikanchíng, "stinking," in referring to it. This bird abounds on the banks of the Tapirapé and middle Araguaia, and it is easy to hunt because it is clumsy and slow. These Indians kill it to feather their arrows with its plumes. Not mentioned in R. von Ihering's book.

(62) ypekú -- woodpecker in general. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé use this name not only for the climbing birds of the Picidae family, but also the bird of the Dendrocolaptidae family depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 132.

(63) chryvá -- motmot (Momotus spec.). Eaten by adults.

(64) tatauantí -- kingfisher (Ceryle spec.). Eaten by grown men.

(65) vuainomy -- hummingbird in general. Eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 112, 114-116.

(66) yvychangó -- taperá [Tr., a swallow]. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw Chaetura cinereiventris in R. von Ihering's Fig. 117.

(67) urutauí -- potoo (Nyctibius spec.). Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw the ringed nighthawk depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 118, a bird belonging to a different genus but to the same Caprimulgideae family.

(68) tuichinga -- parakeet. Eaten by the men. The Tapirapé gave this name, which means "white tuí [parakeet]" when they

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saw the Pyrrhura vittata in R. von Ihering's Fig. 119. They were not familiar with the parakeet (Psittacula passerina) depicted in Fig. 123.

[118:121]

(69) arana -- scarlet macaw (Ara spec.). Eaten by grown men.

(70) kaninẽ -- blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna). Eaten by grown men. Among the Tapirapé, I several times ate the tough flesh of this bird which does not become tender even when boiled for a long time.

(71) anchorõ -- parrot (Amazona spec.). Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave me this word when they saw the Amazona aestiva in R. von Ihering's Fig. 121.

(72) tokynõ -- toucan (Rhamphastus spec.). Eaten.

(73) pyichiva -- a kind of "small toucan," smaller than tokynõ. Eaten.

(74) anũ -- common ani (Crotophaga ani). Eaten by men and boys. R. von Ihering's Fig. 125.

(75) anachychyryõ -- quiriru [Tr., guira cuckoo] (Octopteryx guira). Eaten by men and boys.

(76) pytauvuyõ -- bem-te-vi [Tr., tyrant-flycatcher family] (Pitangus sulphuratus). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 127.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the cagassebinho [Tr., a small tyrant bird] represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 128.

(b) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the ant shrike (Thamnophilus caerulescens), a bird of the Formicariideae family depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 129.

(c) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the lavandeira (Fluvicola albiventris) represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 130.

(d) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the spine-tail (Synallaxis spixi) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 131.

(e) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the oven-bird (Furnarius rufus) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 134.

(77) aviã -- thrush (Turdus spec.). But the Tapirapé were not familiar with the dusky thrush (Turdus amaurochalinus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 135.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the yellow sugarbird (Callospiza flava) in R. Ihering's Fig. 139.

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(78) ancoíchinghõ -- oriole (Xanthornus jamacaí). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 141.

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262 (79) angkaé -- jay (Uroleuca cyanoleuca or Cyanocorax spec.?). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 142.

(80) champohú -- japu [Tr., oriole family] (Ostinops decumanus). Eaten by grown men. A large bird of the Icteridae family. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book.

REPTILES

(81) changkané -- alligator in general. Eaten by the men. I ate meat from the tail of a grown alligator on the Araguaia, and found it pleasantly tender and so characteristic that it did not recall either fish or the flesh of any mammal.

(82) chauvatí-pevoú -- cágado [Tr., a semi-aquatic, fresh-water turtle]. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw Hydrispis hilarii in R. von Ihering's Fig. 147. They eat the flesh and the eggs.

(83) chauvatió -- turtle. Eaten. This word, which means "large turtle," was given on seeing the tartaruga do mar [literally, "sea turtle"] (Talassochelis carreta) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 149. It is probable, however, that the word referred to the tartaruga da Amazônia (Podocnemis expansa).

(a) I did not get the Tapirapé word for the tracajá [Tr., a semi-aquatic, fresh-water turtle] (Podocnemis cayennensis) which is not depicted in R. von Ihering's book, but I saw the inhabitants of Tampiitáua eat one of those small chelonians which they had caught when it climbed the sandy river bank in order to lay eggs. The entire animal was roasted in the embers with its eggs alongside.

(84) chauvatí-été -- jaboti [Tr., a fruit-eating tortoise] (Testudo tabulata). Eaten. I found its flesh very flabby when I ate it on the Tapirapé river bank.

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(85) chauvachí-amperanchí -- matamata (Chelys fimbriata). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 151.

(86) When they saw the limbless lizard (Amphisbaena alba) represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 153, the Tapirapé merely said maiá or máia, their word for snakes in general. They said that they do not eat this animal.

(87) tané -- small lizard. Not eaten. The Tapirapé gave this name for Hemidactyeus mabuia in R. von Ihering's Fig. 154, as well

136 as to Diploglossus fasciatus in Fig. 155.

●262 (88) amereva -- mabuia agilis. Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 157.

(a) The Tapirapé were unfamiliar with the teioid (Microblepharus maximiliani) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 158.

(89) chichuputereva -- teju (Tupinambis teguixin). Not eaten.

(90) anemy -- iguana (Iguana tuberculata). Eaten by grown men.

(91) kamechorânia. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the papavento [Tr., lizard of iguana family] (Anolis punctatus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 161. They said that they do not eat it.

(92) kovianá -- truira-peva [Tr., small lizard of iguana family (Hoplocercus spinosus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 164.

(93) maichiningó -- rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificus). Not eaten.

[118:124]

(94) maiayva -- jararaca [Tr., pit viper] (Lachesis lanceolatus). Not eaten.

(95) okumanî. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the "false coral" (Oxyrhopus trigeminus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 181 and the "true coral" (Micrurus corallinus) in Fig. 183 of the same author. Not eaten.

(96) urukukú -- bushmaster (Lachesis mutus). Not eaten.

(97) maioó -- anaconda (Eunectes murinus). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word means literally "large snake." It is the largest snake in the world. R. von Ihering's Fig. 185.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the harmless cobra-nova (Drymobius bifossatus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 186.

(98) machukyry. The Tapirapé gave this term when they saw the tree snake (Chironius) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 187, and said that they do not eat this animal.

AMPHIBIANS

(99) tayra. The Tapirapé gave this word, which is used by sons to designate their fathers, when they saw the tadpoles represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 191, the butterfly larva in Fig. 464, and the butterfly chrysalid in Fig. 465. They said that they eat the tadpoles.

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(100) choí -- frog. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw Nototrema fissipes in R. von Ihering's Fig. 192.

(101) kororó -- toad (Bufo marinus). Not eaten.

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(102) chyioó -- horned frog (Ceratophrys spec.). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 196.

(103) vuavá -- frog. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw Leptodactylus caliginosus in R. von Ihering's Fig. 197.

(104) mantereva. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the frog (Dendrobates tinctorius) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 198. They added that they do not eat this batrachian.

(105) kurtúa -- small tree toad (Hyla spec.). Eaten by the men.

(106) cholpapevó -- frog (Phyllomedusa spec.). Eaten by the men. [Ed., end of Vol. 118.]

[119:79] FISH

(107) xpirá -- fish in general. My traveling companion, Reverend F.C. Kegel, gathered 54 Tapirapé names for fish.

(108) chavevuyra -- fresh-water ray in general. Eaten.

(109) pirampokó -- literally, "long fish." This is what the Tapirapé call the barracuda (Sphyraena barracuda) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 224, asserting that they eat this marine fish, which also goes into fresh waters according to what I was told by Dr. Antenor Leitão de Carvalho of the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro.

(110) ampakochingó. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the look-down (Selene vomer) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 225, and they added that they eat this animal. No doubt they confused it with another fish, for Dr. Leitão de Carvalho told me that this marine fish does not go into fresh waters, which do, however, contain similar species.

(111) chauevychanché. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the flounder (Achirus lineatus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 227, adding that they eat this fish, which goes into fresh waters, according to Dr. Leitão de Carvalho. R. von Ihering himself (158)

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262 asserts that there are flounders which are "perfectly adapted to fresh water and found as far as the upper Amazon and Mato Grosso." The Tapirapé word seems to be made up of chavevuyra, "ray" (cf. No. 108) and chancé, "father's sister" (as said by the men), thus meaning "ray's paternal aunt." This hypothesis becomes more reasonable when we consider that both fishes have a thoroughly flattened body and both live at the bottom of the water with their white side facing down and the side where the eyes are located facing up. It is also appropriate to recall that the Kaingang word for the centipede means, literally, "snake's father-in-law" (Baldus 11, 157).

(112) mairampeyá. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the swellfish (Spheroides spengleri) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 234, and [119-80] they added that they eat this marine fish. According to the same author (ibid., 158), there are swellfish adapted to fresh water in the Amazon and in Mato Grosso.

(113) moó. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the moray eel (Lycodontis moringa) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 248, and said that, among them, the men eat this animal. They probably confused this marine fish with the snake eel (Symbranchus marmoratus) which looks very much like the moray eel and lives in fresh water.

(114) puranghé -- electric eel (Electrophorus electricus). Eaten by the men.

(115) chechoó -- piracuru [Tr., or pirarucu, a giant Amazon fish] (Arapaima gigas). Eaten by the men.

(116) chechó. This small fish, highly prized by the Tapirapé, is probably the jeju (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus). In Chapter 5, I alluded to the possibility that this Tapirapé word may be part of the name of the village Chechotíua. As for the relationship between chechó and chechoó, that is, "big chechó," one should mention what Stradelli (467) noted about those two scaled fresh-water fish of such divergent size. According to this author, the fishermen of the lower Amazon say that the jeju is the best bait for catching pirarucu with the hook. Would this indicate a magical relationship?

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the catfish (Paulicea lütkini) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 259.

(117) crovi - xrubim (Pseudoplatystoma corruscans). Eaten.

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267 (118) tauvanuí. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the river catfish (Pseudopimelodus zungaro) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 261, and stated that they eat this fish.

(119) tororopy. This is what the Tapirapé called the spotted fresh-water catfish (Pimelodus clarias) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 262, stating that they eat this fish.

(120) chaniú -- small catfish (Pimelodus). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 263.

(121) itaiaf -- cambeva [Tr., a catfish] (Pygidium brasiliensis). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 264.

(122) chaniaubó -- fresh-water catfish (Pimelodella brasiliensis). Cf. No. 120, chaniú. Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 265.

(123) atavachipeva -- mailed catfish (Loricaria spec.). Eaten.

(124) morõ -- mailed catfish (Plecostumus spec.). Eaten.

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(125) amoatá -- armored catfish (Callichthys spec.). Eaten. According to Plínio Ayrosa (4, 148) "the meaning of this name is probably to be found in the variant camboatá, from kaíbo-atá, 'one that walks through the forest,' because these fish, which are supplied with richly vascular hairlike appendages serving for respiratory purposes, can move about freely on land when they intend to move from one waterway to another." It is proper, however, to raise the possibility of a relationship between the Tapirapé words amoatá and amatíua, since the latter, meaning "mustache," may allude to the fish's barbs. In any case, the Tapirapé catch and value the tamboatá, and they have a dance that deals with it.

(126) amoatáõ. The Tapirapé gave this name to the cuiúcuiú (Doras marmoratus) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 271, and asserted that they eat it. This fish, distinguished from the amoatá by its augmentative suffix, resembles it in that it also has barbs and also moves about on land.

(127) anampá -- fresh-water eel (Carapus fasciatus). Eaten by the men.

(128) antanghopaná -- pirá-tamanduá [Tr., pirá is the Tupi word for "fish," and tamanduá for "anteater"] (Sternarchus curvirostris). Eaten.

(129) akná -- acará [Tr., a fresh-water cichlid] (Geophagus brasiliensis). Eaten.

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(130) changioné -- jacundá [Tr., a cichlid fish] (Cremicichla spec.). Eaten.

(131) tukumaré -- tucunaré (Cichla spec.). Eaten. This fish, reaching half a meter in length, is among those most highly valued by the Tapirapé and is killed by them with bow and arrow. Not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(132) vuananaõ -- corumbatá (Prochilodus spec.). Eaten.

(133) vuananaí. The Tapirapé gave this diminutive form of the word listed under No. 132 when they saw the chimboré (Anostomus kneri) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 279, next to his Fig. 278 which depicts the corumbatá [No. 132]. Indeed, head excluded, there are many similarities between these two fish as represented here, Fig. 278 being slightly larger than the other. The Tapirapé asserted that they eat vuananaí.

(134) ipiúna -- piava [Tr., a small fresh-water fish] (Leporinus spec.). Eaten.

(135) ipirápechova -- lambari-guaçu [Tr., lambari is a Tupi word for "minnow"; guaçu is a Tupi augmentative suffix]. Eaten. The Tapirapé gave this word, which literally signifies "flat yellow fish," when they saw Tetragonopterus rutilus in R. von Ihering's Fig. 282.

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(136) pekakuhama -- lambari-mirim [Tr., mirim is a Tupi diminutive suffix] (Characidium fasciatum). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 283.

(137) aikyngapeva -- dog-fish or saincanga (Acestrorhamphus hepsetus). Eaten.

(138) tanayra -- traíra [Tr., lungfish?] (Hoplias malabaricus). Eaten.

(139) ipiríniõõ -- piranha in general (Pygocentrus and Serrasalmus genera). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 288.

MOLLUSKS

(140) iry -- shellfish in general.

(141) champoroõ. This word was given by the Tapirapé when they saw Planorbis peregrinus in R. von Ihering's Fig. 316. Not eaten.

136 262 (142) tatyú -- Strophocheilus oblongus. Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 321.

CRUSTACEANS

(143) machiy -- fresh-water shrimp (Bithynis spec.). Eaten.

(144) vuananá -- fresh-water crab in general, literally, "large crab." Eaten.

(145) vuapema. This word, which means literally "flat crab," was given when the Tapirapé saw the guaiá das pedras (Panopaeus herbstii) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 356. They asserted that they eat this crab.

ARACHNOIDS

136 262 (146) china. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the scorpion (Tytius bahiensis) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 362, and asserted that they do not eat it.

(147) chaná -- spider in general. Not eaten. The Tapirapé are familiar with several of the spiders depicted in R. von Ihering's book, without [119:83] identifying them, however, with specific names. They call the spider web chanóini, ini being also the word for "hammock."

(148) tantevoga -- tick in general. Not eaten (except for those taken directly from the human body). The Tapirapé made no distinctions among the ticks depicted by R. von Ihering.

MYRIAPODS

(149) amoévaí -- millipede (Leptodesmus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 390.

(150) amoí -- millipede (Rhinocricus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 391.

(151) chapanuí -- centipede (Scolopendra). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 393.

INSECTS

(152) tokorí -- leaping insect in general. Not eaten.

(153) tokoró ambipém -- esperança (an orthopteran). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 397.

(154) tokoró. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw the lantern fly (Fulgora lanternaria) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 430. I was unable to determine whether they establish a relationship between this homopteron and the insects mentioned under Nos. 152 and 153, or whether a confusion is involved. They asserted that they do not eat this insect.

(155) kyngeyma -- twig insect. Phasmida. Not eaten. The Tapirapé word is probably made up of kynga, "bone," and yma, a negative suffix. This would be quite significant considering the appearance of this insect, which looks like a stick when motionless. R. von Ihering's Fig. 398.

(156) tiraní -- praying mantis (Stagmatoptera predicatoria). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 399.

(157) pykapykáua -- cricket (Gryllus spec.). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word [119:84] is related to the generic term for "butterfly," that is, pykápyká (cf. No. 170). R. von Ihering's Fig. 400.

(158) ygechuchauana -- mole cricket (Gryllotalpa spec.). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 401.

(159) anavé, anauê, araué -- cockroach (Blatella germanica L.). Not eaten. In Chapter 7 I described the important role played by this insect in the life of the Tapirapé.

(160) kupí -- termite in general. Not eaten.

(161) chichinó -- dragonfly. The Tapirapé gave this name not only to the cavalo-de-cão [Tr., spider wasp] (Aeschnidae) in Fig. 412, but also to the neuropteran in Fig. 409. They used the name chichina for the ichneumonidan in Fig. 511 and the vespid (Synoeca) in Fig. 529. The four insects mentioned are represented with open wings, and this may have led the Indians to find similarities and to give terms distinguished from one another by the augmentative suffix. They asserted that they do not eat these four insects.

(162) ímpeímpeí. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word on seeing pictures of insects as diverse as the following ones: psocid (Atropos), Fig. 413; thysanopteran, Fig. 415; aquatic bug (Belostoma),

136 Fig. 422; notonectid, Fig. 423; bedbug (Acanthia lectularia),
•262 Fig. 424; cercopid, Fig. 425; aphid, rose louse (Aphis rosae), Fig. 428; cicada (Zammara tympanum), Fig. 429; buprestidan (Conognatha), Fig. 450; meloid (Lytta), Fig. 451; brenthid (Brenthis), Fig. 452; curculionid (Heilipus), Fig. 453; curculionid (Heilipus), Fig. 453; curculionid (Entimus), Fig. 454; Cerambycidae, Figs. 455 (Lophnocercus), 456 and 457; coccinellid (Neda), Fig. 458; staphylinid (Paederus), Fig. 459; hydrophilid, Fig. 462. None of them are eaten.

(163) kyva -- head louse (Pediculus capitis). These parasites
[515] are eaten when picked from beloved persons. In fact, since this insect is always related to a particular person, I heard its Tapirapé name only in connection with the possessive, that is, chekyva, "my louse," anenekyva, "your louse," ikyva, "his or her louse."

(164) inimákyrynga -- hammock louse (iní means "hammock"), probably the body louse (Pediculus vestimenti). It is larger than the [119:85] head louse and assailed me painfully, while I never harbored any of the innumerable head lice of the Tapirapé in spite of the fact that I offered them many opportunities for transmigration. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua ate the hammock louse when they caught it in flagrante. According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa (325), this insect also existed among the Tupinambá.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the ephemeris in Fig. 410.

(165) mechuá. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw pictures of the following Hemiptera: reduviid, the blood-sucking conenose bug (Triatoma megistus) in Fig. 417; pyrrhocorid (Dysdercus ruficollis) in Fig. 418; coreid in Fig. 419; Pentatomidae in Figs. 420 and 421. None of them are eaten.

(166) ypehaga. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw pictures of the following Coleoptera: passalid (Neleus), Fig. 439; lucanid (Leptinopterus), Fig. 440; cetonian (Gymnetes), Fig. 442; Melolonthidae (Macrodactylus), Fig. 443; rutelian (Pelidnota), Fig. 444; carabid (Galerita), Fig. 445; cicindelid (Tetracha), Fig. 446; erotylid (Cypherotylus), Fig. 447. None of these beetles are eaten.

(167) byrema -- dynastid (Coelosis) and Scarabaeid (Phanacus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 441 and 449.

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262 (168) anerechinga -- Lymexilonidae (Atractocerus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 448.

(169) takuereré, takuarereka - firefly in general; takú means "hot." Not eaten.

(170) pykápyká. The Tapirapé gave this generic name to all the Lepidoptera, butterflies as well as moths, not differentiating among families and species. They also gave the same name when they saw the Membracidae in Figs. 426 and 427 and the trichopteran in Fig. 463. As already mentioned under No. 99, they call larvae and chrysalids tayra. In contrast to other native peoples (cf. Thurnwald 106), the Tapirapé are familiar with butterfly metamorphosis. They do not eat these insects at any stage of their life cycle.

(171) if -- small nocturnal blood-sucking mosquito, perhaps a variety of birigui [Tr., a small blood-sucking sand fly] (Phlebotomus).

(a) I did not obtain from the Tapirapé the name for the mosquito pólvora [Tr., a small blood-sucking sand fly] (Culicoides spec.).

(172) ipió, ipioeté -- gnat (Simulium spec.). It is eaten when caught in flagrante.

[119:86]

(173) ipiochinga -- lambe-olhos [Tr., literally "graze-eye"; a stingless honeybee (Trigona duckei). Eaten when caught in flagrante. This bee, incidentally the smallest in the world, is not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(174) tanchió, tanchiú -- muriçoca mosquito (Anopheles spec.). Eaten when caught in flagrante.

(175) merú. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw the pictures of the stable fly (Stomoxys calcitrans) in Fig. 494, the Stratiomyiidae (Tachina melanopyga and Hermetia illucens) in Figs. 497 and 498, and the blowfly (Cochlionvia macellaria) in Fig. 499. Not eaten..

(176) mutuka -- motuca fly [horse fly] (Chrysops and Erephopsis). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 495 and 496.

(177) iora -- flea (Pulex irritans or Ctenocephalus canis?).

(178) tongá -- chigoe (Tunga penetrans).

136 (179) chauanakaó. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the mutillid depicted in Fig. 518 and known as the "squeaking ant" [Tr., in English, "velvet ant"] owing to the sound it emits when caught, and also as "little jaguar" or "jaguar louse" owing to its pattern. A bold etymologist might perhaps interpret the Tapirapé word as "dog song" or even "jaguar song," taking into account not only the sound and the spots, but also the terms mentioned under No. 23 and the fact that kaó is the name of a specific song in Tapirapé and corresponds to the Guarani term guahu which means "the barking of dogs" (Recalde 1, 68). There might even be a connection with the large stinger possessed by the female of the species, which causes sufficient pain to draw howls of despair from its victim. The Tapirapé do not eat this insect.

(180) taiyva -- fire ant (Solenopsis geminata). Not in R. von Ihering's book.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the carpenter ant (Prenolepis) in Fig. 519.

(181) mamangao -- bumblebee (Bombus spec.). The Tapirapé asserted that they eat the honey of this large bee that is described as "worthless" by R. von Ihering (256). They call all kinds of [237] honey and bee eí or eirá, and they eat the honey of 20 different bees. My companion F.C. Kegel gathered 29 Tapirapé names for bees.

[119:87]

(182) kaueauá -- mandaçaia [Tr., a stingless honeybee] [237] (Melipona spec.). They eat the honey of this bee, which incidentally is also regarded as delicious by the Whites. R. von Ihering's Fig. 533.

(183) tateí -- jatai (Trigona spec.). They eat the tasty honey [237] of this small bee. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book. I dealt with another Trigona species, the graze-eye, under No. 173.

(184) anchova. The Tapirapé gave this name to a small black bee which gets entangled in the hair and which, according to them, does not yield honey. It may be the irapuã [Tr., a small stingless bee] (Trigona ruficrus), whose honey is actually sparse and "worthless" in R. von Ihering's words (256). Not depicted in his book.

(185) káua -- wasp in general. The larvae are eaten roasted in their nest cells and then removed from their cubicles with a twig

136 262 or by knocking them against the hand. Both men and women eat all wasp larvae. They regard them as special delicacies and usually eat them mixed with manioc flour.

(186) yvyraantana -- tree-living wasp (species?). With the Tapirapé, I ate its white larvae which are two centimeters long. Their taste, extremely floury and sweetish in the unsmoked parts, was not unpleasant. It came from the almost liquid substance of the larva and not from its skin. Several of the larvae were still moving because they had not been as close to the fire as the others. Living or dead, however, they were eaten indiscriminately. [Ed., end of Vol. 119.]

[120:51] We may draw the following conclusions from the preceding list. [Ed., a paragraph giving the first conclusion is omitted.]

171 262 2. With the exception of the spider monkey (No. 38), there is no animal eaten by the Karajá and not by the Tapirapé, but there are numerous mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, fishes, and crustaceans that are eaten by the latter and not by the former.

3. With the exception of the bat (No. 1), which "a few men eat" among the Cherente, and of the teju (No. 89) which "some people eat" among these Indians and which "nowadays some people eat, but no one ate in the old days" among the Kaingang of the Ivaí, there is no animal eaten by these two tribes and not by the Tapirapé. The animals eaten by the latter and not by the Cherente are: the tayra (No. 20), the roseate spoonbill (No. 49), the darter (No. 53), the harpy eagle (No. 59), the owl (No. 60), the motmot (No. 63), the kingfisher (No. 64), the hummingbird (No. 65), the potoo (No. 67), the frog (No. 100), and the crustaceans (Nos. 143 and 144). The following animals are eaten by the Tapirapé and not by the Kaingang: the great anteater (No. 3), the small anteater (No. 4), the porcupine (No. 12), the wild cat (No. 26), the darter (No. 53), the kingfisher (No. 64), the potoo (No. 67), the ani (No. 74), the bem-te-vi (No. 76), the alligator (No. 81), the cágado (No. 82), the horned frog (No. 102), and the crab (No. 144).

[120:52]

4. We see, therefore, that of the four tribes in question, it is the Tapirapé who eat the greatest variety of animals, while the opposite applies to the Karajá.

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262 5. Just as these four tribes differ among themselves as far as language is concerned, they also differ as far as their concept of the edible is concerned.

6. The majority of the animals eaten by the Tapirapé and not by the other three tribes are regarded, among these Indians, as exclusively male food.

7. While among the Tapirapé there are numerous mammals and birds, various reptiles, amphibians, and fish which are eaten exclusively by the men, the only male foods among the Karajá are the paca (No. 15), the coati (No. 19), the tapir (No. 27), and the spider monkey (No. 38). As for the paca, which is regarded as excellent meat by many white hunters and which is valued by the Tapirapé and Cherente of both sexes, it is well to recall that among the ancient Kaingang this rodent was eaten only by individuals who were regarded as less vulnerable to supernatural evil forces. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

8. Among the Cherente, also, the number of animals eaten exclusively by the men is small. They are: the bat (No. 1), the howling monkey (No. 37), the jabiru (No. 47), the alligator (No. 81), the teju (No. 89), the iguana (No. 90), and the electric eel (No. 114). Among these animals, the bat is not eaten by any of the other tribes in question; the howling monkey, which Cherente women do not eat "because it looks like people," is also eaten only by the men among the Tapirapé, while among the Kaingang it is eaten only by "some people" and among the Karajá by no one; the jabiru and electric eel are, among the Tapirapé, exclusively male food, while the Karajá do not eat them and the Kaingang are not familiar with them; the alligator, of which Cherente men eat the tail, is eaten among the Tapirapé only by the men while no one eats it among the Karajá and Kaingang; the teju, although its flesh is so tasty to many Whites, is not eaten by either the Tapirapé or the Karajá, and it is eaten by only a few present-day Kaingang; the iguana, which is highly prized by the Karajá, is eaten only by men among the Tapirapé and is unknown to the Kaingang. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[120:53]

9. [Ed., the first sentence is omitted.] There is no animal restricted to the women among the Tapirapé, Karajá, or Cherente. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

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10. [Ed., the first two sentences are omitted.] Whenever I told the Tapirapé that among other tribes the woman would become ill or even die if she were to eat of the animals whose flesh is forbidden to her, I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé woman to eat the animals whose flesh, as a rule, is eaten only by men. According to Kamairahó, a woman will not eat of such flesh of her own accord. This means that in this case the abstentions are not connected with the supernatural. Actually, the mammals, birds, reptiles, and fish regarded as most delicious, not only by the Tapirapé but by most other Indians and also by the Whites, are all eaten by the women of this Tupi tribe, while as a rule the animals they do not eat are those that are not prized by us either. Although it may be hazardous to look for a relationship [562] between the concept of the edible and the social status of the sexes, it is appropriate to mention: (a) among the Chamakoko the woman plays a predominant role (Baldus 1, 64); (b) Tapirapé culture, in its essential traits, reveals a male preponderance; (c) important aspects of Kaingang culture disclose an equality between the sexes.

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11. As far as the concept of the edible is concerned, age has less importance than sex among the Tapirapé and Cherente, while it has very little importance among the Kaingang and none among the Karajá. When listing the animals eaten exclusively by males, the Tapirapé mentioned for the most part that only "men" eat them, specifying in two cases (the common ani, No. 74, and the guira cuckoo, No. 75) that "men and boys" eat them, and stating about the rest that "men do, boys don't." According to this, the animals eaten only by "grown men" are: the small anteater (No. 4), the tapiti (No. 6), the serelepe (No. 11), the capybara (No. 16), the jabiru (No. 47), the owl (No. 60), the woodpecker (No. 62), the kingfisher (No. 64), the swallow (No. 66), the potoo (No. 67), the macaws and parrots (Nos. 69-71), the oriole (No. 78), the jay (No. 79), the japu (No. 80), the iguana (No. 90), the frog (No. 100), and the horned frog (No. 102). Concerning the hoatzin (No. 61), the Tapirapé stated that only the old people eat it, and concerning the motmot (No. 63), they said that this bird is eaten exclusively by adults. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

12. The animals not eaten by any Tapirapé are: the bat (No. 1), the white porpoise (No. 17), the wild dog (No. 18), the river

171 otter (No. 22), the [120:54] spider monkey (No. 38), the vultures (Nos. 54-56), the hawk (No. 58), the small lizard (No. 87), 262 Mabuia agilis (No. 88), the teju (No. 89), the papavento (No. 91), the truira-peva (No. 92), the snakes (Nos. 93-98), the toad (No. 101), the mollusks (Nos. 140-142), the arachnoids (Nos. 146-148) (except for the ticks removed from the human body), the myriapods (Nos. 149-151), and the insects (Nos. 152-186) (except for those caught in flagrante sucking human blood and for certain larvae and honey). Most of the animals that are not eaten by the Tapirapé are known to the Karajá, Cherente, and Kaingang and are not eaten by these three tribes either, except for the bat which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente, the spider monkey which is eaten by Karajá men, and the teju which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente and by a few present-day Kaingang.

13. Just as I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé woman to eat of the animals whose flesh is usually eaten only by the men (cf. item 10 above), I also heard that those animals not eaten by any Tapirapé would not harm anyone who should happen to eat them. There are, however, certain animals eaten exclusively by [753] the men, namely, the tapir (No. 27), the marsh deer (No. 30), the rhea (No. 41), and the alligator (No. 81), which, if eaten by the father of a small child, would cause the latter to fall ill and die. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph, No. 14, are omitted.]

262 Concerning animal foods, the following observations are also in order.

The Tapirapé do not consume the raw blood of animals, for they regard it as bad.

226 In spite of the distance between Tampiitaua and the river, and 262 in spite of the fact that the life of the Tapirapé as forest dwellers [171] and farmers does not allow fish to play as important a role in their diet as in that of the Karajá water-dwellers, this animal is of greater importance to the Tapirapé than any other. From early childhood, they are constantly looking for small fish in the stream near the vil- [787] lage. They dream that there is abundant fish at certain spots, and

since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest. The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Craho] Indians settled without biting.

262 [122:168] Fortunately, the Tapirapé is also saved by a more varied diet. Manioc flour is usually eaten along with other foods. To give an idea of the variety available at a specific time of the year, I shall list the dishes that were offered to me on the afternoon of June 21, 1935, when I reached Tampiitaua for the first time: two varieties of bananas, warmed and cold; warm and cold peanuts; raw and roasted peanut flour; peanut, maize, and manioc cauí; roasted calabash seeds; boiled and ember-roasted squash, yams, and carás; large boiled green beans; warm manioc flour; small boiled fish; warm manioc soup with small unripe peppers and chicken meat; manioc soup with barbecued fish; the raw and roasted seeds of tucum [Tr., Bactris setosa]; and sugar cane for sucking. Since I did not want to offend anyone, I ate large quanti- 123 ties of each of these delicious dishes in all the village houses that afternoon. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

During my stay in Tampiitaua, I shared largely in the Tapirapé diet and got along well on this almost exclusively vegetarian basis. My digestive apparatus had never functioned as well as it did at the time, and my companion Kegel noticed that after a few weeks of Indian food my face had filled out. In this respect I stood in contrast to our camarada Daniel. This poor frontiersman, who showed his "civilized" status by eating his daily share of rice, occasionally tempered by a piece of game, with punctilious regularity, visibly wasted away. This probably was caused also by the cultural shocks he suffered incessantly, which, as far as food was concerned, were of the same order as those suffered by the Tapirapé when Reverend Kegel opened a can of wieners. A child saw those snake-like forms coming out of the can, ran home, and soon the whole village was there. Each person smelled the can and then spat emphatically to leave no doubt as to the disgust he felt or thought it proper to feel. True, this did not prevent gluttonous Kamairahó from trying a small piece, although with a certain reluctance, from liking it, and asking for more.

262 Unfortunately, the abundance and variety of foods which I found in Tampiitaua in the months of June to August, 1935, disappeared 178 later. As I wrote in a report to the director of the Indian [122:169] Service, "in 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little carás, or manioc cake.

262 178 The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal [574] behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality. It is true that this may also have resulted in 177 part from contact with the White neighbors who have settled on 291 the Tapirapé river over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer, or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their bodies are undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. Thus, instead of satisfying the appetite of their Indian visitors, they are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural rather than physical, one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitaua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them wear complete dresses. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actual- 262 ly experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their 177 new neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the 648 number of inhabitants of their village has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following were not lacking, however: "Now the Tapirapé eat only small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., a large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs. These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry spell, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna, as well as the human beings in the region, have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the frontiersmen, by settling permanently on all the habitable spots along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitaua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers" (Baldus 12).

171 264 [122:170] In their manner of eating the Tapirapé retain many similarities with the ancient Tupinambá. As was the case among the latter, the Tampiitaua family usually eats together from the same container, which stands in the middle, with the father lying in the hammock and the wife and children squatting on the ground (cf. Gabriel Soares de Sousa 366 and 375; Vicente de Salvador 35). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

These present-day Tupi, like the ancient coastal ones, do not drink while they eat (cf. Vicente de Salvador 33; Soares de Sousa 375; Anchieta 2, 330; Cardim 165; Léry 127). Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé eat "all the time, night and day, at any hour or moment" (Cardim 164), and what Simão de Vasconcellos (p. LXXXV) wrote about those Indians may be applied to these: "Eating time comes whenever nature demands it, as with wild animals; and nature demands it so often, that they eat during the day, and during the night if they must." It so happened that at midnight, when everyone was asleep, my hammock neighbor Kamairahó suddenly awoke because he was hungry. He got up, awakening his wife and children. The woman prepared fish, and finally they all began to eat and to take cauí.

The habit of tossing manioc flour into the mouth is a cultural trait that the Tapirapé share not only with the ancient coastal Tupi (cf. Léry 118-119; Thevet I, 303; Cardim 166; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. LXXXV), but also with the peasants who live near the city of São Paulo. The only difference is that around this modern metropolis the flour is propelled into the mouth with a spoon, while among the Indians this is done directly with the fingers.

262 252 Boiled food is eaten or drunk by the Tapirapé as hot as they can stand it. In this respect they can stand more than I, for example. If the food is still too hot even for them, they cool it off by blowing upon it or, if it is liquid, by stirring it with a gourd.

[192] [122:171] In Tapirapé, aó means "I eat," and ayó "I drink water," the o sounding almost like a u.

312 To obtain clear, fresh water, the Tapirapé dig a hole so close to still water or to the river that the liquid penetrates through the dividing wall of earth. The use of this filtering process shows that what Anchieta (II, 330) wrote about the Indians he knew cannot be applied to these: "... they hardly distinguish bad water from good, and are satisfied with any kind." In this respect, the inhabitants of

844 poles. A large pot full of water is placed nearby to wash the mother and child. If the confinement is difficult, a woman presses the mother's belly until the child comes out. The baby is received in the arms of another woman who waits beneath the mother. The umbilical cord is severed with a cane shiver, and the afterbirth is buried. Both father and mother abstain from any food for one day. Both stay in their nets "until the loss of blood ceases, that is, often for several days." There are no food abstentions for the future parents prior to the birth. For about two years after the birth of the child, the parents give up peanuts and bananas. In addition, the father frequently abstains from those animal foods that are never eaten by the woman, especially tapir, marsh deer, rhea, and alligator, until the child is almost six years old. Only if he is a shaman may he eat of everything. The wife of a shaman, however, does not share this privilege.

846 [843] 262 784 [756]

The Tapirapé believe that the child will die if these abstentions are not observed. They say that in this case death would not be caused by an evil sorcerer, as they usually believe, but by the food that should not be consumed and that turns evil when it is eaten. And they add that in such cases the Whites have many medicines that might save the child, while the Tapirapé do not have any, and so among them the child would be lost. [123:54] When I offered them deer meat, which is coveted by all Tampiitaua men (perhaps because it is a type of game that, although abundant, is seldom killed without firearms), it was not accepted by the fathers of one-year-old children. Even Urukumy who, as a shaman, could have eaten the meat, was careful to pass it on to someone else after courteously accepting it from me.

[761]

The abstention from bananas and peanuts is impressive when we consider the important role played by these foods in the Tapirapé diet. It is possible that the high mortality among children during the first two years of life may have led to such onerous rules. Actually, these Indians assert that their Karajá neighbors and the Whites eat of anything when their child is ill, while Tapirapé parents, in such cases, subsist exclusively on manioc flour and maize and manioc cauí, even when the child is older than six.

[165] [755]

The behavior of Indian parents toward the newborn recalls to some extent a custom of the colonists of São Bonifácio, in the state of Santa Catarina, who come for the most part from Westphalia.

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551 Catarina, Xokleng [Shokleng] or Aveikoma [Aweikoma], studied by Henry (50). [Ed., end of Vol. 124.]

[127:231] CHILDHOOD

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855 Father Fernão Cardim (310) wrote of the Tupinambá: "There *is nothing parents love more than* their own children, and he who does something for the children can obtain anything from the parents." Roughly, this sentence could be applied to nearly all Brazilian tribes and to the Tapirapé among them. This love is
855 manifested in the understanding with which the adults treat the children. An Indian father would never answer his child's question with: "This is grownup stuff you can't understand," thus destroying, in the fashion of certain White fathers, the trust with which the child seeks out his most learned friend. The Indian father does not speak to the child with an air of superiority, and consequently there is no chasm between them, such as frequently separates children from adults among us.

In fact, a Tapirapé will show patience toward a child even before he reaches the age of asking for explanations. I shall never forget the attitude of Vuanomanchí when a small child seated in his lap urinated on his bare legs. No fuss! This worthy family man did not even get up. He took a piece of straw from the ground and pushed down the liquid with it. He neither scrubbed nor washed himself. He uttered no word and made no motion that might disturb the child.

[127:232] Nor shall I forget the behavior of Maeyma during the illness of his little girl. Several women were weeping around the girl's hammock, and Maeyma was the only man who was crying. Seated in his hammock, he covered his face with his hands and sobbed. He seemed to have lost weight during the short period of
● [262] [755] his child's illness. As befits a mindful father, he ate nothing during this time except for a little maize cauí and manioc flour. On the following day, when the girl seemed to have improved, Maeyma, lying in the hammock held her like something breakable, and when he moved his hands he did so gingerly.

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855 In the Tapirapé tribe, as in many others, the intimate and continuous connection between child and parents is acknowledged and

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

with so few people holding the status positions of aboriginal Tapirapé society much specialised knowledge will be lost. This is true of shamanism, as explained above, and it is true of the weaving of baskets for which Tapirapé men were justly famous before 1940. In 1953, only two men of the tribe knew the art of basket making. In aboriginal times, it was a technique which men learned after adolescence (Tapirapé boys were not expected to learn the manly arts), and with the death of so many older men and the disintegration of Tapirapé society, few young men were able to study. Both of the young men who did learn produced baskets which in 1940 would have been considered distinctly inferior and few of the young men in 1953 showed an inclination to learn the art. Like many other aspects of the culture, Tapirapé basketry will probably be a "lost art" within a generation.

Before 1940, one of the striking aspects of Tapirapé culture recorded by both Baldus and myself was the complex set of rules governing food taboos. According to aboriginal Tapirapé culture, women and children are forbidden to eat venison as well as many other specific meats. Nowadays the Tapirapé frequently have beef, which they receive by trade from the Brazilian around the Indian post. As might be suspected, beef is equated with venison and it is taboo to Tapirapé women. Likewise, Tapirapé men who are the fathers of small children may eat neither venison nor beef. One Tapirapé male explained that "Even when we were hungry our women would not eat beef." But in view of their experience with other cultures (i. e., Carajá and Brazilian), such taboos are growing weaker. Hidden from their husbands, several Tapirapé women tested beef for the first time when offered it by the wife of the Indian officer, and several females have taken to eating it (and even venison) at the Indian Post pleading that their secret be kept from their husbands. And one Tapirapé male, the father of an infant, argued while eating venison that the taboo was not a logical one. Food taboos are still kept but

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953).1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

the possibility of comparison, of observing other forms of behavior which were formerly closed to them, now stimulates change in Tapirapé culture.

Numerous other modifications in the Tapirapé way of life might be reported. In 1953, a few Tapirapé collected money which they kept as they formerly kept red parrot feathers in a bamboo container, but they have only vague ideas of its value. Two men own rifles but they have little idea of how to keep them in order. Men wear trousers when they visit the Indian Post, but they might at any time calmly remove them in the presence of the missionaries, and women have learned quickly to put on a wrap-around skirt when Brazilian men approach. These and a series of other changes might be quickly noted as having occurred between 1940 and 1953.

Still, Tapirapé culture has remained remarkably stable in face of the violent disruption of Tapirapé society during this last decade. Tapirapé culture has been modified by borrowing and by loss of trait and pattern due to the reduction of population and the disorganization of the society. Tapirapé society, with fewer people and new influences, has now changed more than Tapirapé culture. Certainly society and culture are intimately related phenomena but the history of the Tapirapé during the last thirteen years indicates the value of distinguishing between social change on the one hand and culture change on the other. For a period the Tapirapé lived as members of a distinct society, but their culture persisted, and with this knowledge they have been able to recreate, at least temporarily, their organized social unit.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

and planting, which begins after the first light rains of October, is done individually and principally by the men. Cotton and peanuts, however, are women's crops. The women plant these in their husband's garden plots and harvest them themselves. While a new garden plot is cleared each year, a particular garden plot is generally used for two years and then abandoned. A man plants such crops as maize, beans, and peppers on the plot the first year and as they are harvested, he replants the plot with manioc. Maize is harvested from the end of December through February, the season of heaviest rains; while other crops are harvested at the end of the rains in May and June.

Large gardens with many different crops guarantee to the Tapirapé a variety and abundance of garden stuff, but meat and fish are definitely luxuries. People in the village could not remember a time when there had been real hunger among them, but they were frequently hungry for meat and fish. This lack in the diet is supplied by frequent trips to the near-by Tapirapé River and the grass plains that border it where fish and game, principally wild pork (*Tagassu pecari*), deer, peccary (*Tagassu tajacu*), water fowl, and tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*) are found in abundance. During the dry season these plains abound in piqui (*Caryocar villosum*), palm nuts especially andiroba (*Carapa guianensis*), used for body oil — and other wild fruits.

Among the Tapirapé wealth is not reckoned in terms of basic subsistance, for these goods are so easy to obtain as to be considered with little regard. The possessions that lend real distinction of wealth are such luxury articles as the breast and tail feathers of the red parrot (*Ara chloroptera?*), beads, and pieces of hardware acquired through contact with white men or trading with other Indians. These goods are accordingly the most valued media of exchange in the community. Other goods used for a medium of exchange were urucú (*Bixa orellana*), tobacco, extra hammocks, decorated gourds, string for binding feathers to arrows, and cane arrow shafts.

The houses of a Tapirapé village form a circle around a great central ceremonial men's house. There are nine of these large thatch dwellings with rounded roofs in the modern Tapirapé village; four to eight simple families (father, mother, and children) share a house. Each simple family has a section of the unpartitioned house where they lead a domestic life separate from the others. Residence is matrilocal and the women of such a household are ideally related by kinship; yet each large household has

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555 west "where the earth ends and the water begins" and where the sun
622 returns to sleep after its travels across the sky. In Maratawa shamans
756 have an inexhaustible supply of tobacco, many red parrot feathers,
775 much manioc, kasi, bananas, meat, and all the other necessities and
[766] luxuries of life. Frequently a shaman is buried with a pipe filled with tobacco in his mouth, so that he may have smoke to drive out intruders on the trip to Maratawa; and sometimes food is buried with the body so he may eat, for the journey to Maratawa is long.

556 Aside from these non-material considerations, there is one very
756 real factor which insures social respect to the Tapirapé shaman. Shamans are in general the wealthiest men among the Tapirapé. Although they may at times receive meat or honey for their cures or as presents for bringing the spirits of children to parents, payments to them are usually in those luxury goods that are the marks of wealth. It was readily observed that the beads and hardware which I gave as presents to the Tapirapé soon passed into the hands of shamans as payments for cures.

756 Payments to the shamans for curing the ill depend upon the seriousness of the illness and upon what the patient or his family has to offer. Frequently a shaman names his fee when his cure has been successful, asking for specific objects, for he knows full well what each family owns. Unsuccessful cures are never paid. For example, for the treatment of his sister's son and of his daughter, who were both sick at once, Kamairabo, a shaman himself, called three shamans and paid each the price that he asked. He paid one, Panteri, a machete and two strings of beads; to another, Urukuma, he gave an axe, a pocket knife, a pair of scissors, and five tail feathers of a red parrot; he gave only four strings of beads to Kamairat, who was considered a shaman of less power than the other two. Another young man with few possessions gave five arrows to a shaman who successfully treated his wife; still another paid the breast feathers from his parrot and four strings of [262] beads to a shaman. When Tzawaniuma killed a *paca*, the meat of [224] which is highly prized by the Tapirapé, he gave some to his companion of the hunt and divided the rest between two shamans who had treated his small daughter successfully. Neither shaman had to ask for any specific gift or payment. People often complain to others about the [671] high price they had to pay to a shaman, but generally they pay what is

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756 on the contrary, they were described as "good wives", and one of them was remembered as small and particularly attractive.

756 Certain people regardless of sex are early recognized as future
828 shamans because of their natural inclination to dream. Several infor-
836 mants, for example, told me that a young boy, an orphan, and therefore badly cared for, would certainly be a powerful shaman. He turned and talked in his sleep and had been known to cry during a nightmare. He remembered few of his dreams but did tell of seeing the spirit of his mother, and described an evil spirit which he met during a dream. One of the present powerful shamans is said to have been such a youngster with a predilection for dreaming. Such youngsters are nervous and sensitive; yet no distinct personality traits were observed among adult
756 shamans. Shamans are frequently emaciated and thin, attributable
[828] perhaps to their constant use of tobacco and the resulting nausea, and one shaman, now dead, was described by informants as a nervous ascetic interested only in the supernatural world.

276 Persons lacking this predilection for dreaming, but with aspirations
756 to shamanism, may solicit dreams. Each year during the days of the
787 dry season all young men who aspire to shamanism, even those who have shown potentialities during boyhood, gather each evening in the central plaza of the village to seek dreams. A novice sits upon the ground near a *pantí*, his mentor, and swallows smoke from his mentor's pipe until violent vomiting occurs. When the novices are too ill to hold the pipe, the shaman holds it for them, forcing them to continue "eating smoke". Generally the neophites fall backwards unconscious and ill from the smoke; during this state they may dream. In any case, when they regain their senses, the pipe is again placed in their mouth until they fall backwards ill and unconscious once more. The process may be repeated several times over a period of two or three hours. Later, when the novice retires to his hammock for the night, he may expect a dream.

756 Such sessions occur each night during the few weeks before the Thunder ceremony and a serious novice should attend all sessions.
[839] During this period he refrains from sexual intercourse because it will
[Cru] hinder his dreaming; he also refrains from bathing and so becomes grimey. He must not eat of those animals which "walk at night", such
[862] as the jaboti tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) and the monkey, because he must be friendly with all creatures he may meet in his nocturnal dream travels. He should eat manioc flour, yams, pepper, and such bland

meats as jacu, cumi (*Nasua* sp.), peccary, mutum (*Crax* sp.), and chicken; of other foods he must eat sparingly or not at all. The novices are "tired" and "thin"; many do not continue after the first few nights because they "are lazy" or because "they are afraid". Canpukwi, my informant, did not continue because he did not like the dirt, the nausea from tobacco, the lack of food, and the sexual continence. 756 [262]

Other novices, more successful and more persistent, do dream. At first they see smoky forms of ghosts and sometimes forest demons; they as yet do not know how to talk with such spirits. Usually, the first season or two during which a young man seeks dreams, he may expect mild dreams. After several seasons the novice may see dangerous forest demons in his unconscious states and he may talk with ghosts. Traditionally, young Tapirapé shamans become wild and uncontrollable when they have their first dangerous dreams. They are reported sometimes to stand up suddenly from their induced unconscious state and run wildly through the village, sometimes killing chickens, dogs, and parrots, or breaking pottery. Although no novices "run" in this way during the 1940 training period, an informant described the state of a young shaman who "ran" several years ago. "He jumped up." He shouted and ran through the village. He carried a club in his hand (usually weapons are placed well out of reach). He killed two chickens and broke through the side of a house. He killed his brother's dog. All the women and children ran from the village, afraid. Finally, Maruni grabbed him but he was strong and he hit Maruni with a club and blood ran down Maruni's face. Many men came and held him and Urukumu (his mentor) blew smoke over him", thus bringing him back to his senses. He had seen dangerous spirits and "was afraid", informants told me. This reaction is common for those who show potentialities toward shamanism. 756 787

The mere fact that young shaman has several dangerous dreams does not make him a powerful shaman. He must take part in the "fight" against the beings of Thunder, and by the side of his mentor he may attempt cures. If successful, he may be called now and again by people for cures. With a reputation for several cures and with continual dreaming, during which he has supernatural encounters, he builds up his reputation as a shaman over a period of many years. Panteri and Urukumu were about fifty years old when I visited them; informants gave no indication that their power was expected to decline with old age. 756 [556]

128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution
121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

264 The social significance of this organization into "eating groups"
924 derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam-
[262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem-
574 976 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs.

264 At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided
551 into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanẽpéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Pananiviẽna, Maniitiviẽra, Kãmanõ', Tãnaupéra, Ampirampé, Avãinki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tãtãupãna. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanẽpéra with txankanẽ (alligator), Maniitiviẽra with manditivãna (a variety of manioc), Ãvãinki' with vãiki tã (a variety of manioc). This may be
[77] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanẽpéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common
551 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what
476 the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the
264 Txankanẽpéra group will say, "Txa Txankanẽpéra," which means both "I am called Txankanẽpéra" and "I am Txankanẽpéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Ané Txankanẽpéra ('You are called Txankanẽpéra,' or 'You are Txankanẽpéra')."

192 Tãtãupãna designates both the common feast of a group and the
574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what
976 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampãna"
264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement
[10]

[92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets. These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kaiuanoí, owing to their small numbers, had joined the Awainkí to form a single group. All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group. [262] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of karí [Tr., a kind of yam], peanut kauí, etc. Before that, there was a great distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted together, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they pleased. Kamairahó, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother. We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitánya, his little adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankanépéra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

[93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kauihó and vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness, the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season with its "good shadows," summer.

They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tatíupúna of an eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Awainkí had killed with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group. [462] In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

461 bananas. If he has no bananas left at home, the man goes to the garden to get a new supply. He returns staggering under an enormous load, for he brings as much as he can carry. And although by this [147] time he is already tired enough to lie down in the hammock again, he may fulfill his duties as a dancer and singer throughout the night, duties that demand of a single man the rested legs and lungs of five strong males. [Ed., the remainder of p. 101, pp. 102-194, and the first paragraph on p. 105 are omitted.]

[105] On the other hand, it is true that there are great differences among the various tribes as far as industriousness is concerned. The Tapirapé may be pointed out as being especially "diligent." At the [262] time of my stay among them, they had an abundance of food, and in spite of this they worked very hard in their gardens and gave themselves up with no less zeal and perseverance to their dances and songs. 177 In this tribe, which is still distant from our civilization, the introduction of iron tools that began dozens of years ago through their eastern 182 neighbors, the Karajá, and the lack of war-like activities or bent had an effect directly opposite to that generated [by the same factors] in the Indians civilized by us, that is to say, deprived of their cultural independence. These two factors did not hinder the vital force or impair the creative urge of the Indians, but in fact guaranteed their subsistence and increased their well-being. If, in spite of this, symptoms of degeneration are apparent among the Tapirapé, [106] the causes must be sought elsewhere. This, however, is not the proper context to discuss them. [Ed., all but the last sentence of the subsequent paragraph is omitted.]

476 When watching a collective task among the Indians, such as the 461 apatxirí of the Tapirapé, one has the impression that the joy with which it is done increases their strength.

As I watched the men, most of them endowed with the physique [147] of our adolescents, conquering piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I observed none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness and tediousness which characterize so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side.

Those who needed rest sat on the felled trunks. They sat very close together as they have the habit of doing. They talked, and some of [226] them smoked a pipe. Suddenly there would be a lot of shouting, they 476 would all scatter with a show of joy as the moan of live timber was heard, [107] and a green giant would lean slowly and crash with a

476 thundering noise, dragging along in its fall its weaker companions.

Every once in a while, a voice was heard behind the trees. One [222] could not see who it was, but the call sounded very close. Immediately, the boys rushed to the spot where the voice came from. Soon they returned with their arms full of bananas. They ran jubilantly toward us and distributed them.

These bananas reached a length of 30 centimeters and a middle [197] [482] circumference of 15 to 20 centimeters. The men brought them in hampers close to the working area, but never came out of the woods into the garden with their load.

The skin of the bananas was black, and their flesh was already 252 262 brownish and too soft. This is the condition in which the Tapirapé [222] like them best. The fruits are gathered when green and buried at the [171] spot where they grew. The Karajá do the same thing. In the sun-heated ground, the bananas reach the desired state of rottenness more quickly than if they were kept at home. Then, too, they are warm when taken out of the ground, and this endears them further to the Indians.

They are not peeled in order to be eaten. The tough skin is 264 opened a little at one of the tips, the tip is placed between the lips, and the skin slowly emptied by squeezing it with the fingers so that the pulp gradually enters the mouth. Kamairahó ate one banana after another. As for myself, I found them nauseating.

[108] The sun was already quite low when we left. We forged 264 476 ahead at a rapid pace, one behind the other on the narrow trail. We 462 were not far from the village when the path opened onto a small, 574 cleared, triangular space. The women sat in the corners of this space and watched us in silence. The women and girls had split into three groups which tallied with the work groups of their husbands and fathers. They had placed pots of food in the area in the same arrangement. [262] There were banana kãũí, peanut kãũi, cottonseed kãũí, toasted karã, and many other good things. Each group ate only from the pots placed for it at a specific spot. There were smaller quantities for the Tãnãvé, because they were fewer. I was invited from all sides, and since I [123] was very hungry I did not spare the other two groups. Only when I was beginning to be satiated did I put down, with a great show of surprise, the pot of banana soup of the Anantxí from which I had just partaken, and declared that I was a Tãnãvé. This fact, however, did not seem to be of great importance to my hosts.

162 What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, [165] the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from [115] Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lelong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications [726] caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampiitáua at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

[847] Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

178 Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of 262 vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious 241 Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparent- [574] ly owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

177 It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact [648] with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their 177 body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. 291 Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

177 are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural
291 rather than physical one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitáua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them are completely clothed.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actually
177 experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their new
262 neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the number
[161] of Tampiitáua inhabitants has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following [139] were not lacking, however. "Now the Tapirapé only eat small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs."

These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the
[261] dry season, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna as well as the human beings in the region have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the
[136] frontiersmen, by settling permanently in all the habitable places along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at
[361] certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitáua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers.

When I ascended the length of the Tapirapé River in a canoe in
311 1935, its banks were uninhabited. There was a single inhabitant at the river mouth, and he manned, so to speak, the most advanced
648 post of our civilization. In July, 1947, there were eight houses in Pôrto Velho, which stands more or less at the middle point of the navigable stretch, that is, 15 or 18 leagues from the mouth, and nearly all of their occupants came from the state of Pará and had lived previously at various spots on the Araguaia.

Their settlement, and with it the occupation of the Indian lands, began about five years ago and presents aspects characteristic of the processes that were repeated, with certain variations, throughout the colonization of Brazil. Their leader is a farmer by the name of Lucio

648 [141] The superiority complex, a characteristic product of ethnocentrism, is not lacking among the new inhabitants of the Tapirapé River. These people, who are called caboclo [backwoodsmen] by the city dwellers of Rio and São Paulo, in turn call the Indians by this term, thus following the custom of the north Brazilians. To us, caboclo is the man who goes barefoot. To those shoeless frontiersmen, however, caboclo is the man who does not even bother to wear pants. Although pants and shoes delimit the cultural distance that separates them from the Indians on the one hand and from us on the other hand, there is one fact that marks them as members of our society and of no other. These poor conquerors of the unknown are not exempt from taxes. They have to pay them in heads of cattle.

Concerning this, one should mention the historic settlement of São José, an aggregation of about 30 houses, swarming with disease and misery, located at one of the most beautiful spots on the Araguaia. The inhabitants pay taxes of various sorts and say that the government does nothing for them. They pay a school tax, for example, but they have no school. Our companion, Dr. Haroldo Cândido de Oliveira, was the first doctor to visit them in 20 years. When the launch of the Indian Service goes by, these forlorn inhabitants of Goiás get a few medicines.

What would contribute to the frontiersman's feeling of superiority over the Indian, however, aside from the pants and the taxes, the taxes which enable him to belong to the capitalist world? Rifles are already found among the Karajá. And the Indians of the Araguaia are better fed, wash more often, and, as disclosed by the medical examination, suffer less from malaria and enjoy better general health than the so-called "civilized people" around them, who are for the most part, incidentally, Negroes and mulattoes. As an ethnocentric man, however, the frontiersman regards everything that differs from his own culture as inferior. The cultural differences between him and the Indian extend so thoroughly to every aspect of life, moreover, that they almost conceal the similarities caused by the identical geographical environment and by the fact that both groups belong to the same human species. Such tasty Indian dishes as the peanut, [262] maize, and manioc soups, masticated by the women to saccharify [252] them with the saliva, are, to the frontiersman, "filthy stuff" from which he turns in disgust. Tapirapé houses, covered with palm and

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes visiting the house of Thunder.

"I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun and it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a *topã*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *topã* and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark. I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had many red parrot feathers. There were many *topã* and many souls of shamans. I did not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have stayed (died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirape know, too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*anchunga*) which populate the unseen world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of deceased Tapirape;[19] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes. Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These generally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives. When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *pacu* and doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *jacu* are spirits of men.[20] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to seeing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless laymen.[21] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as soon as the body is buried.

There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demoniac class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[22] Other species are very dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these were numerous, and killed many Tapirape, but Ware, a culture hero and powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[19] Speaking of Tupinamba, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural beings" (*aygnan, aguin, ingange* and *anhanga*), *ibid.*, p. 51.

[20] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are tabu to some age and sex groups, in a complicated dietary system.

[21] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirape say, "He sees *anchunga* but we can't."

[22] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but certainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even pretend to be frightened.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara SO6

abnormalities. Since there is a low incidence of twins and since in several known cases "abnormal" children have been allowed to live, infanticide has had little or no effect upon Tenetehara population trends. The Tenetehara tell of one or two formulas thought to produce abortion. The long taboos imposed on both parents during the pregnancy of the mother and during the early infancy of the child are a source of irritation and discomfort which would seem to tend to discourage large families. But, in general, there is little planned effort among the Tenetehara to limit family size. Men seem proud of several children; women are eager to bear children and they will leave a husband whom they believe to be sterile.

In contrast, the Tapirapé value small families. They take specific steps to limit their families and have explicit ideas as to maximum family size. Not only do the Tapirapé bury twins at birth as do the Tenetehara (and for similar reasons) but they believe that a woman should not have more than three live children. (5) In addition, the three children of a woman should not be of the same sex. In other words, if a woman has two living daughters and her third child is also a girl, it is usually buried at birth. Similarly, if she has two male children and her third is a male, infanticide is in order. Furthermore, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers to her child. More than two co-fathers leads to complications. All co-fathers are expected to observe taboos on sexual relations and on the eating of certain meats during the pregnancy of the woman and the early infancy of the child. If there are three, four, or more co-fathers one of them is certain to break these taboos thus endangering the health of the infant; consequently the woman is urged to bury the child. (6)

On an overt level, the Tapirapé justify these checks on population by saying, "We do not want thin children" or "They would be hungry". They enlarge upon such statements by adding that it is difficult for a father to supply a large family with meat from hunting. In aboriginal times, manioc was plentiful and no one lacked the tubers with which to manufacture flour but meat was especially scarce during the rainy season when the forest is partially flooded and the paths to the savanna country are impassable. In addition, a complex set of food taboos make the job of supplying meat for a family more difficult. Children before adolescence are allowed to eat only specific meats and women are prohibited others. When a Tapirapé says "I am hungry" he generally means by implication:

(5) Baldus (1948) vol. CXXIII, p. 55, was told the same regarding the limitation of number of children of the Tapirapé family, but the contrary in relation to twins. According to information given to him by these Indians, the Tapirapé appreciate twins and, therefore, husband and wife eat twin or double bananas, i. e., with two fruits in the same peel.

(6) Genealogies indicated that these rules are adhered to almost without exception. In 1939, during my residence in a Tapirapé village, one woman hesitated in allowing her third male child to be buried. Less than a month after its birth, she appeared one day without the infant and announced that he had died of a cold. Another woman whose child had four fathers allowed the child to live only to have it die of an intestinal disorder. The villagers took a definite el - told - you - so attitude.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara SO 6

"hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Population control among the Tapirapé seems no to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new disease for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic prodution and distribuition. The masked dances with impersonation of

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

137 The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth 133 and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive 132 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

Farming.—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their 241 villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their [484] large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also 241 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work 616 festival (apačirú). When communally prepared, the large clearings are 476 afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener- [423] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apačirú, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaô) at the end 241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as [462] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout [422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear- [361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

262 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is 252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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601 **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among
[182] the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kin-
[611] ship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross- or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an
[178] individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

554 An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many
581 "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the
597 marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within
592 his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease.
[851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
304 the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
851 must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest
262 fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son